

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui Haa Fakafanua presided there. ⁷⁷⁸ [776]

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua refused to become a Christian, Taufaaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not withstand Taufaaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kolio*) to Pea at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion of the siege of Pea in 1852. ⁷⁷⁸ [797]

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulotu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest. ⁷⁷⁸

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times. ⁷⁷⁸ [825]

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish. ⁷⁷⁶ [604]

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulotu Katoa, the fruit dove sacred to Kahoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

175 consistency in all their accounts. From this it will
 642 appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit,
 643 the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island
 634 of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was
 [124] under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose
 [651] seat of government was on the island of Tonga,
 and who received tributes from Finow, chief of
 the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of
 Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first
 arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been
 for several years, divided into various petty
 states, all at war with one another; whilst Fi-
 now was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,
 and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the
 latter place.

669 Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who
 713 were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and
 722 were four in number,) received orders from the
 721 king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon
 the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12
 pound carronades. They immediately set to
 work, to mount them upon new carriages with
 high wheels, made by the native carpenters,
 [726] under their directions. This being done, Finow

* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

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expressed his opinion, that the gun was an instrument not well fitted (being too unwieldy) for their mode of warfare, which consisted in sudden attacks and retreats, according to circumstances, rather than in a steady engagement. He very readily entered into an acknowledgment of the advantages of a steady contest, but was apprehensive that his men would not easily be brought to stand it. Mr. Mariner and his companions, however, promised that they and their countrymen (who were dispersed upon other islands,) would remain in the front of the battle with their four guns, provided the Tonga people would agree to stand fast and support them. The king assented to this on the part of his men, and a few days afterwards, when he reviewed them, he signified his wishes, and they swore to fulfil their duty.

In the mean time the Englishmen employed themselves in collecting the shot which the natives had brought from on board, but which they had thrown aside, not being able to shape them for any common purpose. They also cut up a quantity of sheet lead, and made it up in rolls to be used as shot. During this time every preparation was also making by the natives for the approaching war: they repaired the sails of their canoes, collected their arrows, spears,

722
669 and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

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547 One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

158 At this time there lived in the island of Le-fooga a female who for many years had been [787] afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

[287] * Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

734 She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very indecent and disrespectful.

722 All things being now prepared for the invasion of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the 669 priests assured Finow of success*. The large 782 canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number, 787 were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's 716 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty 669 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the 726 Hapai islands to make the island of Namooça the place of general rendezvous. These fifty sail under the direction of Finow, four of the largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded towards the appointed place; but on account of contrary winds were obliged to put 714 into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity 177 to review his men, most of them being painted

* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

634 bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and
 505 his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came
 177 with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c.
 431 (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is
 greatly esteemed). These they laid down at
 the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla,
 who were seated opposite the entrance. Her
 majesty returned the compliment by presenting
 them with three or four English wine-bottles,
 an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and
 some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the
 form of chisels; which having received, they
 retired and seated themselves on one side, op-
 634 posite the party of Hapai singers. These latter
 585 now began a vocal concert, in the language and
 177 after the manner of the Hamoa islands. When
 533 they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and
 so on alternately during four or five hours, after
 which the company broke up. The brides were
 not present at this concert; and the bride-
 groom, not finding himself much interested in
 it, soon gave them the slip.

634 This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being
 669 over, Finow again began to turn his attention
 634 towards Vavaoo. In the first place he dis-
 669 patched canoes to the different Hapai islands,
 702 with orders to each, that all the male inhabit-
 [722] ants (excepting two of the oldest for each
 plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

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the yams being all planted,) should assemble within ten days at Lefooga, armed with clubs and spears, and supplied with a good store of provisions. Being all arrived within the time proposed, Finow issued orders to all his forces to prepare for a review. On the appointed day they assembled on a *maláí*, to the amount of about six thousand; all armed, and painted, and dressed according to some warlike fancy. Finow then delivered a speech, in which he declared his opinion that the Tonga mode of warfare had, hitherto, been upon a very bad principle; and that instead of running forwards and then retreating, accordingly as they met with advantages or disadvantages, they ought rather to remain together in a body, and not to retreat on every trifling occasion, but to push forward with the most determined courage, and thus dash terror into the minds of their enemies; or by standing their ground with unconquerable steadiness, to strike them with astonishment at their fortitude and strength: for such he had heard was the way of fighting in England, (meaning Europe at large,) and it claimed his highest admiration:—"and," he added, "if any man sees the point of a spear, advancing upon his breast, he is not to run back like a coward, but push forward upon it, and at the risk of his life, deal destruction on

712 strongly illuminated by the sun, represented to the imagination of Mr. Mariner the spears and javelins of ancient heroes, drawn up in battle array. On the top of the banks a number of [714] warriors, armed with clubs and spears, were running to and fro, with fine light streamers,* full thirteen feet long, attached to their heads and arms, which, floating in the wind, produced a most romantic effect.

484 The king and his matabooles being now re-
634 turned to their canoe, the expedition proceeded out of the inlet, and arrived shortly at a small island, on which they landed, and stripped it of almost all its cava root. It is here [722] proper to mention, that all the islands adjacent to Vavaoo were deserted by order of Toe Oomoo, that the people might be more safely situated in or near the fortress, in case of an invasion. The three canoes afterwards proceeded a little farther onward, and put in for the night at a small island, called Hoonga, about two miles from Vavaoo. The next morning they resumed their voyage, and arrived at Haano, the nearest of the Hapai islands, in the afternoon.

[824] * These streamers consist of the fine membrane stripped off from the under side of the cocoa-nut leaf.

CHAPTER VII.

000 Desertion of one of Finow's wives, and the wife of the prince—Rencontre between one of the fugitives and Mr. Mariner—Attempt to take the enemy's women while gathering shell-fish—Dispute about the female prisoners—Return of the Hapai canoes with provisions—Palavali's attack upon a party of the enemy, and killing a man within a sacred fencing—Strangling a child as an atonement for this sacrilege—Death of Palavali—Finow, growing tired of the war, in an artful manner negotiates a peace—Finow's apology for the conduct of the Vavaoo people at an entertainment given them—Entertainment given by the Vavaoo chiefs to Finow and his chiefs—Sentiments respecting praise, bravery, &c.—New regulations of Finow—Toobo Toa' deputed tributary governor of the Hapai islands—His arrival at the Hapai islands, accompanied by the prince and Mr. Mariner.

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586 A FEW days after Havili's unsuccessful attempt to secure the enemy's hogs, one of Finow's wives ran away from Neafoo; being shortly missed by the rest of the women, in searching for her, it was found that one of his son's wives had taken the same step, and it was supposed they had gone together. When this was made known to the king, he left the fortress instantly, accompanied by five or six men, and directed his course along the main road leading to Felletoa, but without any success. He returned

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very much dejected, and sent to his aunt, Toe Oomoo (the chief of the enemy), requesting to have his wife returned, stating, that it was a war between men, and not women; but his remonstrances had no effect. These women both laboured under the jealousy and tyrannic influence of Mōonga Toobo, Finow's favourite wife: partly to rid themselves of this, and partly to visit and live with relations they had in the opposite garrison, they made their escape, and took a by road near the sea-shore. On the morning of their departure, Mr. Mariner was at some distance from Neafoo, gathering shaddocks in a thicket: for, although his wound did not allow him to use any active exertions, yet he now and then went abroad by the help of a stick, which, no doubt, was one cause that rendered the cure very tedious. Being up in a tree, he heard a rustling noise in the bushes below, and, directing his attention to the spot, was surprised to see one of Finow's wives. Prompted by curiosity, he came quickly down, and, seizing her by the arm, inquired what caused her to stray so far from the fortress, and to expose her person and her life to the insults and cruelty of the enemy: she replied, that she had only come out for a walk, and was going shortly to return. To this account he objected, that it was too far, and too dangerous a walk

669 for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting
 586 Moteita and his followers, who often concealed
 722 themselves in those woods, and declared his
 727 suspicion that she intended to run away. She
 immediately fell on her knees, clasped her
 hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly,
 that he would not prevent her flight from the
 dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her rela-
 tions, and appealed most pathetically to his own
 feelings and affections towards his mother, or
 whatever relatives he might have in his own
 country; and represented how hard and cruelly
 severe it would be for any one to prevent him
 flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power.
 Being moved by the earnestness of her manner,
 and the unfortunate circumstances of her situa-
 tion, he raised her up, and promised not to in-
 terfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter
 to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed
 whichever way she thought proper.

669 Finow had, for a long time past, entertained
 726 the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's
 226 women, who were in the habit of assembling
 at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish,
 [723] and now, that his wife had run away, he was
 [634] more than ever encouraged to do this, by way
 of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the deten-
 tion of her. The place where they procured
 this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

22 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

643 had been vacant since the death of his father, Tu'i Tonga Fuanu-
[197] nuiava, in 1810. When the Wesleyan missionaries started work in
Tonga, therefore, first in 1822 and then in 1826, there was neither
a Tu'i Tonga nor a Tu'i Kanokupolu.

634 There were several important developments from this political
turbulence. One of these was the emergence of Vava'u and
Ha'apai as unified regional political units with their own inde-
pendent and central authorities vested in the Tu'i Vava'u and
Tu'i Ha'apai respectively. On the other hand, Tongatapu was
still fragmented and actual power rested with local chiefs.

361 The long-drawn-out civil war and the increasing impossibility
of defending isolated hamlets against European guns and muskets
669 gradually forced the people to move into fortified places called
722 *kolotau*. Out of these sprang the modern villages of Tonga which
are called *kolo*.

565 During this period also there was a marked change in the
chiefs' treatment of the common people. It had become increas-
ingly harsh, to the point of being intolerably cruel, inhuman and
arbitrary. They came to regard the commoners as mere chattels
634 to be used exclusively for their own benefit. The following
565 incidents were typical:

Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed cutting out the
iron fid from the maintop gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow,
whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved
to put a stop to his work. Calling to a Sandwich islander, who was
amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket, he ordered him to
bring that man down from aloft. Without the least hesitation,
the Sandwicher levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down
dead; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased
at the facility with which his order had been obeyed. The shot
entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his
skull. Afterwards, when Mr Mariner understood the language, he asked
the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so
trifling a fault. His majesty replied, that he was only a low, vulgar
fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any
consequence to society. (Martin 1827, I:68)

Teukava of Kolovai, on the occasion of a festival, 'arranged in
a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles
and went about with a hook, pulling their privates out into view'.

361 As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century,
Mariner reported that "the common men live entirely in the
country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves
361 cultivating the land" (Maude, 1965:27). Kennedy believes
621 that:

These apparently dispersed dwellings may have
been in groups covering a proportion of the land
held by each chief This being a comparatively
small area, the settlement pattern would in effect
represent a village, though quite different in form
from its modern counterpart in Tonga. (Kennedy,
1958:162-163; Walsh, 1970:29).

361 In the early nineteenth century "Dark Age" of civil
712 disorder, Tongans were forced to seek protection in fort-
[722] resses known as kolo (the name used today for villages and
towns). Such fortresses, all of which had walls, moats,
pits, and other means of defense, were established through-
out Tongatapu in such places as Nuku'alofa, Pea, Te'ekiu,
Kolovai, Nukunuku, Fatai, Longoteme, Kolonga, and Lapaha
(McKern, 1929:80-89) . . . the sites of present day villages or
towns.

361 Since the period of the civil wars, the predominant
178 settlement pattern has remained one of nucleated settlements
from which the inhabitants commute to the surrounding garden
[77] areas. The evolution of well-defined towns was no doubt
encouraged by the establishment of religious missions and
schools, trading companies, and government offices in towns
and villages. The distinction between the 'api kolo (place
[423] to reside in town) and the 'api 'uta (place to cultivate in

175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and
trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
721 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
669 from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
177 small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
411 all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
361 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
178 type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this traditional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
722 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
361 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
722 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated
241 between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded, planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement